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Patterns of Optimism and Pessimism in Perceptions of Changing Sex Roles

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Abstract

The utility of a design measuring actual, ideal, and expected sex-role attitudes was demonstrated with a 25-item survey administered to 155 undergraduate men and women under different instructional sets. Although relatively liberal attitudes were expressed overall, men generally expressed less egalitarian attitudes than did women. Moreover, distinct patterns of optimism and pessimism were revealed in relation to anticipated changes in sex roles. Gender generally did not interact with instructional set, however, there were some notable exceptions. Although the sexes agreed that men take less responsibility in the home than is ideal, not surprisingly men perceived more present equality in this area than women did--and women, but not men, anticipated significant change in the future. Similarly, women perceived less present equity in the areas of pay and job opportunity than did men, and although both sexes were guardedly optimistic about the prospects for continued strides toward equality in these areas, this was particularly true for women. Neither sex expected complete equality in the foreseeable future. The results were discussed in relation to literature on sex-role attitudes as well as their relevance to the struggle for sexual equality.

Patterns of Optimism and Pessimism in Perceptions of Changing Sex Roles

Changing patterns of sex-role attitudes and values have been carefully examined in recent years (Cherlin & Walters, 1981; Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982; Mason, Czajka, & Arber, 1976; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983; Thornton & Freedman, 1979). The overall trend has been toward less conservative and traditional views, particularly regarding sexual equality in academic and career opportunities and, possibly to a lesser extent, the sexual division of labor in the home (Merriam & Hyer, 1984). Women generally express more egalitarian attitudes than men (Beere, King, Beere, & King, 1984; Helmreich et al., 1982; Osmond & Martin, 1975; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Some researchers (e.g., Thornton et al., 1983) have reported a continued trend toward egalitarian attitudes into the 1980's, while others (e.g., Helmreich et al., 1982) have reported an apparent deceleration of that trend and in certain respects (vocational equality, marriage and family roles) a reversal, particularly among women. Although the latter observations require further corroboration, they do underscore a need to focus on specific issues--avoiding measurement of global attitudes--and seem to warrant continued scrutiny of sex-role attitudes.

The present study offers a technique of gauging prevailing trends in sex-role attitudes which to our knowledge has never been used. Studies in this area commonly measure idealized sex-role values. One of the most widely used instruments of this type is the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972, 1978).

Degrees of agreement or disagreement with various statements about the rights and roles of women in society are taken in the aggregate as a measure of pro-feminist or egalitarian attitudes. Although this approach is subject to various methodological and conceptual criticisms (Beere, 1979; Brannon, 1978; Del Boca, Ashmore, & McManus, 1986; Jean & Reynolds, 1984; Richardson & Wirtenberg, 1983; Vaughter, 1983), it is widely used.

We proceeded from the premise that a useful conceptual distinction may be made among actual, ideal, and expected sex-role conditions; and that concurrent measurement of sex-role attitudes from each of these perspectives would yield insights about contemporary attitudes as well as anticipated future trends.

The usefulness of this design lies in the different emergent configurations of actual, ideal, and expected sex-role values. Theoretically, different patterns of results would allow a number of interesting and important questions about changing sex roles to be addressed simultaneously: (1) Are present sex-role conditions less than ideal? (2) If present conditions are not ideal, are they expected to change? For better or worse? (3) To what extent, if any, have sex-role values become too liberal and in which specific areas? (4) What areas of sexual inequality are most resistant to change? (5) Are there aspects of sexual inequality which ought to be preserved? The purpose of this investigation was to demonstrate the utility of this design in addressing the latter questions.

Method

Subjects

The respondents were 76 female and 79 male undergraduates at a liberal arts college in Northeast New York. Subjects were recruited at varying locations on campus and participated voluntarily. The sample ranged in age from 17 to 24 (M=19.08) with about 60% being members of the Freshman and Sophomore classes.

Materials

Twenty-five items measuring sex-role attitudes in four substantive areas: family roles (6), extra-familial behaviors (5), gender stereotypes (9), and broad social change (5) were taken from a sex-role survey developed by Osmond & Martin (1975). The items were presented in a Likert format with 14 items negatively-keyed. All items were subsequently scaled so that higher values indicated more traditional attitudes.

Alternate forms of this survey were constructed to measure perceptions of actual, ideal, and expected sex-role conditions. This was achieved by means of changes in the instructional set accompanying each form of the survey and also entailed slight re-wording of individual items to maintain consistency with the instructional set. In most cases, re-wording involved substituting the words "should" and "will" in the ideal and expected conditions, respectively.

In the "actual" condition, subjects were instructed "...to express your perceptions of sex roles as they exist in society today." In the "ideal" condition, subjects were instructed "...to

express your perceptions of ideal sex-role conditions (how you feel sex roles should be)." Measurement of "expected" sex roles was accomplished by instructing subjects "...to express your perceptions of sex-role conditions as you expect they will be twenty years from now."

Procedure

Upon recruitment, each subject was randomly assigned to one of the three experimental conditions and received the corresponding form of the survey. Having provided personal information requested at the top of the survey (sex, age, class, major field), the subject then read the instructions for completion of the survey itself. Due to the importance of the instructional set in the design, an effort was made at the outset to ensure that the subject fully understood the directions. When the survey was completed, each subject was thanked for participating and given the opportunity to discuss the research with the investigator.

Results

Scale ratings for the composite (full-scale), each item subcluster, and individual items were examined in a 2 (Gender) by 3 (Instructional Set) factorial design. All effects reported are derived from F ratios and Newman-Keuls tests significant at least at the .05 level unless otherwise noted. Since there is no rational or empirical justification for aggregating individual item ratings, and since different patterns of results emerged both within and between item subclusters, the true character of the findings can only be revealed through scrutiny of the item data. Nevertheless,

to maintain consistency, the rational groupings of items used in the original study (Osmond & Martin, 1975) will be retained--although, as the results will show, these conceptual categories are arbitrary.

Effects of Instructional Set

Instructional set effects emerged in 20 of the 25 item analyses. Especially noteworthy, however, is that of the 27 possible configurations relating actual, ideal, and expected sex-role attitudes, only two patterns accounted for more than half (14) of the items. Moreover, all of the items were described by only six patterns--and each of these is meaningful--expressing in global terms "optimism," "pessimism," or endorsement of the "status quo." The terms optimism and pessimism are used throughout this paper from the perspective that sexual equality is desirable. Accordingly, we termed "pessimistic" any result that appeared to be an endorsement of inequality and/or resistance to change. "Optimistic" results in different ways expressed hopeful attitudes about continued strides toward sexual equality. It should also be noted that the five items which did not yield an instructional set effect are nevertheless of interest. "No effect" in this context expresses the view that actual conditions are not far from ideal and this is not expected to change--a meaningful perception.

Pessimistic Patterns. Four of the six patterns observed in the data expressed pessimism. The data associated with these patterns is presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

A prevalent form of pessimism expressed the view that actual conditions fall short of ideal and this is not expected to change. Inspection of Table 1, part a, shows that this pattern described the Extrafamily and Steroetype clusters as well as seven individual items. It is interesting to note that only three of the five Extrafamily items and only two of the nine Stereotype items followed the same pattern as their respective composites.

The item data show that the ratings all tended toward the liberal end of the scale. Nevertheless, the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with present conditions and saw little hope for improvement. Specifically, there was agreement in principle by both sexes, but women to a greater degree than men, that women are capable of making a career commitment, can handle important decisions, and assume leadership roles. The sexes agreed equally that men can engage in domestic activities if they so desire. On the other hand, there was disagreement, again particularly by women, that career women are neurotic, that a husband who is the breadwinner makes most of the important decisions, and that women prefer less intellectually stimulating conversation. The pessimism expressed in relation to the latter seven items appears to be saying that, while things are not so bad now, they could be better, but it is not likely to happen.

Part b of Table 1 displays two items which conform very weakly to a pattern of extreme pessimism--present conditions are less than ideal and this is likely to get worse. These effects were marginal, however, since only one or two of the components defining the pattern achieved statistical significance in the Newman-Keuls analyses. Nevertheless, these data illustrate how the design would detect

such extreme pessimism if it were present in the data. The respondents tended to disagree overall that the better wage-earner is considered the breadwinner, and rejected the assertion that men are superior to women.

One Family item asserted that women with young children should stay at home rather than work, and the results show a third pattern of pessimism which is displayed in part c of Table 1. The latter pattern expresses the view that present condiitons are acceptable but too much change is expected in this area. Both sexes appear to believe that as time goes on too many women will be working instead of staying at home to care for their children.

Part d of Table 1 describes a fourth pattern of pessimism applicable to three items. Here, pessimism takes the form of resignation to some degree of sexual inequality. The latter pattern expresses the view that present conditions are less than ideal now, this is not likely to change, and that is acceptable. Regardless of gender, the respondents agreed strongly that a satisfying sex life is equally important to men and women. There was also clear agreement, especially by women, that women are encouraged to plan for a career not just a job. Ambivalence was expressed, particularly by men, regarding the prospects for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Optimism. Extremely optimistic views failed to emerge in relation to any aspect of the survey content. What did emerge was a pattern of "guarded optimism" in which present conditions were perceived to fall short of ideal, and anticipated to improve, but not sufficiently. Table 2 shows that the latter pattern applies to the

composite (full-scale), the Family item subcluster, the Social Change item subcluster, and seven individual items.

Insert Table 2 about here

It is important to note that only one of the six Family items showed this pattern although the aggregated rating for the Family items taken together did show this pattern. Also, it is here in Table 2, especially in relation to the Social Change items, that Gender by Instructional Set interactions tended to emerge, showing that, in certain respects, women but not men expressed optimism. These effects are quite interesting.

One Family item asserted that men take the same responsibility as women in the home. The sexes differed in their perceptions of actual conditions. Men gave themselves more credit in this area than women did. In addition, women were more optimistic than men about the likelihood of change in the division of labor in the home. Nevertheless, men and women agreed that present conditions are less than ideal.

Similarly, women perceived less present equity in the areas of pay and job opportunity than did men. Although both sexes were guardedly optimistic about increasing future equality in these areas, this was particularly true for women and to a lesser degree for men. Neither sex foresaw complete equality.

Both sexes, but women to a greater degree than men, rejected the stereotypes that women like being dependent on men and that women pamper men to get what they want. The need for additional

low-cost, high-quality childcare centers was expressed strongly, particularly by women. Neither sex perceived a realistic chance that a woman might be elected President of the U.S. either now or in the foreseeable future.

Status Quo Attitudes. Analysis of the ratings for five items yielded no Instructional Set effect expressing the view that present conditions are acceptable and this is not likely to change. These data are displayed in Table 3. Three Stereotype items followed this pattern and reveal that the respondents clearly disagreed that

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Insert Table 3 about here

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gender differences in behavior are genetic, that women who challenge men's domination and leadership threaten the welfare of society, and that consciously or unconsciously women prefer to be like men. It should be noted however that men disagreed significantly less than women with the latter two assertions.

Men and women differed sharply in their views about the access of women to men's clubs and lodges as well as about the assertion that women may satisfy their needs through their husbands. Men expressed far more traditional attitudes than did women on these issues.

Gender Differences in Attitudes. The results summarized in Tables 1, 2, and 3 show that both sexes, but women to a greater degree than men, communicated relatively egalitarian attitudes. Simple gender differences emerged in 18 of the 25 item analyses

and cut across all item subclusters.

Only four items showed no gender differences--two Family items and two Stereotype items. As noted above (Table 3), the respondents strongly rejected the idea that behavioral sex differences are genetic. There was ambivalence in relation to the assertion that the breadwinner is the one who earns the highest wages (Table 1, part b). In addition, both sexes strongly endorsed the views that men do have the freedom to get involved in traditionally feminine (domestic) activities (Table 1, part a), and that a satisfying sex life is equally important to men and women (Table 1, part d). Three other items discussed earlier (Table 2) revealed no simple gender differences but Gender by Instructional Set interactions emerged.

Discussion

The utility of a design in which actual, ideal, and expected sex-role attitudes are measured was demonstrated. The results show the power of this design to address significant questions about changing sex-role conditionsand, especially, to identify specific areas of relative optimism and pessimism as well as aspects of sexual inequality that are perceived to be acceptable at their present levels.

The results show that generalizations about sex-role attitudes, even in areas which may seem homogeneous (e.g., family roles), may be unwarranted. In the present study, attitudes toward specific aspects of family life ranged from relatively egalitarian to more traditional. Three Family items followed a pessimistic pattern, two other Family items conformed to a status quo pattern, and one Family item revealed an optimistic pattern. Echoing the caveat

issued by Helmreich et al. (1982), this study demonstrates the need to examine attitudes toward specific issues.

Moreover, the results also corroborate concerns raised by other investigators (Beere, 1979; Del Boca et al., 1986; Vaughter, 1983). Adding ratings together to derive a composite score may have little theoretical or empirical merit and may be very misleading. To illustrate, again using the Family items in this study, the Family subcluster--that is, the aggregate score derived by adding the ratings for the six Family items--followed an optimistic pattern overall. However, as noted above, only one Family item actually showed this pattern of endorsement. The other five Family items did not conform to this pattern at all. Similarly, taking the composite for all 25 items, the results show an optimistic pattern overall (Table 2). However, most of the individual items did not follow this optimistic trend. Indeed, many items conformed to pessimistic patterns. Thus, in the measurement of sex-role attitudes, inferences drawn from composite data, per se, may be quite distorted.

The familiar gender differences in sex-role attitudes also emerged in this study. Women expressed more egalitarian attitudes than did men, thus confirming the findings of many other investigations. Nevertheless, the design used in this study allowed us to go beyond the common observation that women are more liberal than men. It was possible to reveal that, in certain areas (i.e., the sexual division of labor in the home), women may be more optimistic than men regarding the prospects for equality. However, in other areas (job opportunity, pay equity), women may be more pessimistic.

On the other hand, since interactions of Instructional Set and Gender were the exception, it can be said that, to the extent that different patterns of actual, ideal, and expected sex-role perceptions emerged, they tended to describe the perceptions of both sexes equally.

Although our respondents expressed relatively liberal attitudes overall, the results are nevertheless still disturbing. At the same time that actual conditions were generally perceived to be less than ideal, the respondents often expressed pessimism about continued movement toward sexual equality and, in certain respects, resignation to some sexual inequality. These findings may manifest the resistance to change of sex-role stereotypes noted by others (Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985; Werner & La Russa, 1985). There seems to be little question that men's attitudes tend to lag behind women's in this area. As Scher (1984) stated it: "Females may have less ambivalence than males in incorporating changes in sex roles" (p. 652). Although dramatic changes in sex-role behavior have already occurred over recent decades, to the extent that basic perceptions of gender differences persist, it is only natural that these conceptions would affect the perception of actual conditions in relation to the ideal, as well as expectations for future equality.

The design explored in this investigation is useful in identifying areas which may be particularly resistant to change. Yet, there is a need for research which goes beyond this, attempting to identify the obstacles to change. In other words, to the extent that people may be less than hopeful about continued strides toward

sexual equality, we need to understand what contributes to and maintains these perceptions. The information so derived would not only provide greater understanding of the dynamics of changing sex roles but also be useful in targeting the energies of those who have assumed leadership roles in the struggle for sexual equality.

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Table 1

Summary Data for Items and Item Clusters Revealing Pessimistic Patterns of Endorsement

(a) A > I E > I A = E[a]

"Actual conditions fall short of ideal and this is not likely to change."

Item/Cluster		Tables of Means and p Values[b]				
		A	I	E		
Extrafamily Cluster (5 items)	M	14.0	10.8	13.7	12.9	$p < .001$
	F	10.4	6.6	9.8	9.1	
		12.3	8.7	11.7		
			$p < .001$			
		A	I	E		
Stereotype Cluster (9 items)	M	22.9	18.1	22.7	21.4	$p < .001$
	F	17.0	13.2	15.4	15.3	
		20.0	15.7	19.0		
			$p < .001$			
		A	I	E		
Men generally have the freedom to cook and care for children if they so desire. (FAM)	M	2.3	1.5	2.4	2.1	ns
	F	2.2	1.6	1.8	1.9	
		2.2	1.5	2.1		
			$p < .001$			
		A	I	E		
A husband who is the breadwinner in a family generally makes most of the important decisions. (FAM)	M	3.2	2.2	3.4	3.0	$p < .001$
	F	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.4	
		3.1	1.8	3.0		
			$p < .001$			
		A	I	E		
To a great extent, women are just as able as men to make a career commitment. (EXT)	M	2.2	1.8	2.4	2.2	$p < .001$
	F	1.7	1.2	1.8	1.6	
		2.0	1.5	2.1		
			$p < .005$			

Note. All items were scaled so that higher values express more traditional attitudes. Item clusters reflect the rational groupings of Osmond & Martin (1975) and include Family (FAM), Extrafamily (EXT), Stereotype (ST), and Social Change (SC) items.

[a]Patterns of relationship among Actual (A), Ideal (I), and Expected (E) conditions reflect Newman-Keuls comparisons significant at least at the .05 level. [b]p values correspond to F ratios for the associated effects.

 (table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Item/Cluster		Tables of Means and p Values				
		A	I	E		
Women are less capable of making important decisions than men are. (EXT)	M	2.1	1.8	2.3	2.1	$p < .001$
	F	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.3	
		1.8	1.5	1.8		
		$p < .10$				
		A	I	E		
Men are more capable of assuming leadership than women are. (EXT)	M	3.1	2.8	2.9	2.9	$p < .001$
	F	1.7	1.2	1.9	1.6	
		2.4	2.0	2.4		
		$p < .10$				
		A	I	E		
Women generally prefer light conversation over rational discussions. (ST)	M	2.8	2.0	2.8	2.6	$p < .001$
	F	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.6	
		2.3	1.6	2.3		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
Career women are generally neurotic. (ST)	M	2.6	2.0	2.4	2.3	$p < .001$
	F	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.5	
		2.1	1.6	2.0		
		$p < .005$				
(b) A > I E > A E > I						
"Present conditions fall short of ideal and this is likely to get worse."						
		A	I	E		
Whoever is the better wage-earner is considered the breadwinner. (FAM)	M	3.0	2.6	3.0	2.9	ns
	F	2.8	2.4	3.4	2.9	
		2.9	2.5	3.2		
		$p < .05$				
		A	I	E		
There is considerable evidence that men in general are a "superior species" to women. (ST)	M	2.4	2.1	2.7	2.4	$p < .001$
	F	1.4	1.0	1.4	1.3	
		1.9	1.6	2.0		
		$p < .05$				

 (table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

(c) A = I A > E I > E

"Present conditions are ideal but too much change is evident in this area."

Item/Cluster		Tables of Means and p Values				
		A	I	E		
Women with children in grammar school tend to stay at home rather than work. (FAM)	M	3.3	2.9	2.4	2.9	$p < .05$
	F	3.0	2.7	2.0	2.6	
		3.2	2.8	2.2		
		$p < .001$				

(d) A > I A = E I = E

"Conditions are less than ideal now, this is not likely to change, and that is acceptable."

		A	I	E		
Women are encouraged to plan for a career not just a job. (EXT)	M	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.1	$p < .005$
	F	2.0	1.4	1.6	1.7	
		2.1	1.6	1.9		
		$p < .02$				
		A	I	E		
A satisfying sex life is equally important to men and women. (ST)	M	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.7	ns
	F	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.6	
		1.8	1.4	1.6		
		$p < .05$				
		A	I	E		
The Equal Rights Amendment is about to be ratified soon. (SC)	M	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.2	$p < .005$
	F	3.1	2.3	2.7	2.7	
		3.2	2.7	2.9		
		$p < .05$				

Table 2

Summary Data for Items and Item Clusters Revealing Optimistic Patterns of Endorsement

A > I A > E E > I [a]

"Present conditions fall short of ideal, this is likely to improve, but not sufficiently."

Item/Cluster		Tables of Means and p Values [b]				
		A	I	E		
Composite (Full-Scale) (25 items)	M	72.1	56.0	67.1	65.4	$p < .001$
	F	61.3	41.0	52.3	52.2	
		66.4	48.5	59.9		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
Family Cluster (6 items)	M	18.4	14.7	16.9	16.8	$p < .001$
	F	16.9	12.0	14.7	14.6	
		17.6	13.4	15.8		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
Social Change Cluster (5 items)	M	15.9	12.5	14.3	14.3	$p < .02$
	F	17.0	9.3	12.4	13.1	
		16.4	11.0	13.3		
		$p < .001$				
Interaction: $p < .005$						
		A	I	E		
Men take the same responsibility as women in caring for the home and children. (FAM)	M	2.9	1.7	2.5	2.4	ns
	F	3.6	1.6	2.2	2.5	
		3.2	1.6	2.4		
		$p < .001$				
Interaction: $p < .02$						
		A	I	E		
A woman is just as likely to be elected President of the U.S. as a man. (EXT)	M	4.3	2.4	4.0	3.6	$p < .001$
	F	3.7	1.8	3.1	2.9	
		4.0	2.1	3.5		
		$p < .001$				

Note. All items were scaled so that higher values express more traditional attitudes. Item clusters reflect the rational groupings of Osmond & Martin (1975) and include Family (FAM), Extrafamily (EXT), Stereotype (ST), and Social Change (SC) items.

[a]Patterns of relationship among Actual (A), Ideal (I), and Expected (E) conditions reflect Newman-Keuls comparisons significant at least at the .05 level. [b]p values correspond to F ratios for the associated effects.

(table continues)

Table 2 (continued)

Item/Cluster		Tables of Means and p Values				
		A	I	E		
Most women like being dependent on men. (ST)	M	3.1	2.2	2.6	2.7	$p < .001$
	F	2.2	1.3	1.6	1.7	
		2.7	1.7	2.1		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
Females often go ahead and pamper males--"tell him how great he is" because that's a useful way to get what they want. (ST)	M	3.3	1.8	2.8	2.7	$p < .001$
	F	2.6	1.6	1.8	2.0	
		3.0	1.7	2.3		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
There are low-cost, high quality child-care centers available to working women. (SC)	M	3.3	2.2	2.7	2.8	$p < .05$
	F	3.3	1.4	2.3	2.4	
		3.3	1.8	2.5		
		$p < .001$				
		A	I	E		
Women get pay equal to men for doing the same job. (SC)	M	3.0	1.8	2.4	2.4	ns
	F	3.8	1.2	2.4	2.5	
		3.4	1.5	2.4		
		$p < .001$				
Interaction: $p < .005$						
		A	I	E		
Women have job opportunities equal to men. (SC)	M	2.9	1.8	2.5	2.5	ns
	F	3.6	1.3	2.5	2.5	
		3.2	1.6	2.5		
		$p < .001$				
Interaction: $p < .02$						

Table 3

Summary Data for Items Revealing a Status Quo Pattern of Endorsement

A = I I = E A = E [a]

"Present conditions are acceptable and this is not likely to change."

Item		Tables of Means and p Values[b]				
		A	I	E		
Men's clubs and lodges are required to admit women. (SC)	M	3.4	3.7	3.6	3.6	$p < .005$
	F	3.2	3.2	2.6	3.0	
		3.3	3.5	3.1		
			ns			
		A	I	E		
It is possible for women to satisfy their needs through their husbands. (FAM)	M	3.6	3.7	3.3	3.5	$p < .001$
	F	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.4	
		3.0	3.0	2.9		
			ns			
		A	I	E		
The way men and women behave is more a result of their genetic makeup than the way they were brought up. (ST)	M	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.0	ns
	F	1.8	2.1	1.8	1.9	
		1.9	2.0	2.0		
			ns			
		A	I	E		
Since men have a basic urge to dominate and lead, women who challenge this threaten the welfare of society. (ST)	M	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.6	$p < .001$
	F	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	
		2.2	2.2	2.3		
			ns			
		A	I	E		
Either consciously or unconsciously, most women would prefer to be like men. (ST)	M	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.6	$p < .001$
	F	2.0	1.6	2.1	1.9	
		2.3	2.0	2.4		
			ns			

Note. All items were scaled so that higher values express more traditional attitudes. Item clusters reflect the rational groupings of Osmond & Martin (1975) and include Family (FAM), Extrafamily (EXT), Stereotype (ST), and Social Change (SC) items.

[a]Newman-Keuls comparisons among Actual (A), Ideal (I), and Expected (E) conditions failed to reach significance at the .05 level. [b]p values correspond to F ratios for the associated effects.